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PERU

March 1958

1. Population - 9,923,000 (1957)
2. President - Manuel PRADO y Ugarteche
3. Dominant Political Party - Movimiento Democratico Peruano  
(Democratic Peruvian Movement)  
[APRA probably still is largest party numerically]
4. Nature of Government - Constitutional republic (Constitution of  
9 April 1933)  
Legislative Branch (Senate, Chamber of Deputies)  
Executive Branch  
Judicial Branch

a. National Elections

Presidential and congressional elections held on  
17 June 1956. New president and congress inaugurated  
on 28 July 1956.

5. Communist Party - Partido Comunista Peruano (PCP)

Status - The PCP has been illegal since November 1948.  
The illegal status, however, is now unenforced. Under  
the more liberal PRADO Government, the Party is re-  
organizing, strengthening its ranks, and conducting  
increased and more overt activity.

Strength - CP Membership - 6,000

Sympathizers - 40,000

Centers of Strength - Departments of Lima, Cuzco,  
Puno, Arequipa, and Huancayo. Strength is also  
concentrated in labor unions and intellectual  
circles in other population centers of the country.

**Effectiveness** - The PCP is still rather weak and largely ineffective. It is recovering from its eight years of suppression under General Odría (1948-1956) during which it remained badly disorganized. Furthermore, considerable dissension exists within Party ranks, and expulsion from the Party and internal bickering over policy are constant.

Communists have lost influential positions to the Apristas, who gained legal status with the advent of the Prado government and who have been able to fight in the open to regain their lost positions.

It should be noted, however, that Communists are gaining access to the public through their publications and the privilege of a limited amount of public activity. By securing strategic positions in government, labor, education, and other sectors of the national life, with the exception of the military, they are now making their influence felt.

Another factor to be considered is the tradition of limited cooperation between Peruvian conservatives and Communists. The conservatives, who lack a mass political following of their own, believe that APRA presents the most serious threat to the established order and that the small Communist Party offers a means of combatting this threat. Consequently, they have supported Communist publications, contributed frequently to the Party and encouraged Communist influence with labor. (See 5.b. below)

**a. Communists in government (officials)**

The Communists are not capable of subverting the country's current political leadership, nor of influencing effectively national elections.

There are, however, some Communists and pro-Communists at all levels of the government. Outstanding example is

Minister of Government and Police, Jorge FERNANDEZ Stoll, who is powerful by virtue of his position, and is known to have been a fellow traveler. The U. S. Embassy regards him as "untrustworthy and possibly a crypto-Communist".

Since the restoration of parliamentary democracy in 1956, 2 Senators and 11 Deputies of Communist or pro-Communist convictions have been elected to Congress under the labels of the Popular Action (2 Senators, 8 Deputies), Independent (1 Deputy), National Unification (1 Deputy) and Peruvian Democratic (1 Deputy) parties.

There reportedly are some Communists in the national ministries and bureaus, in public administration offices, government publications offices, the universities and the judiciary.

The Pradista party has prominent individuals in it who are generally known to be Communist or pro-Communist (Congressional Deputy Ernesto More, for example).

Some provincial and municipal officials, who are government appointed, are also known Communists.

There has been little or no penetration of the armed forces.

b. Strength in Labor

Communist strength in organized labor apparently is decreasing. Communists have lost considerable ground to the Apristas who now control the majority of worker and university organizations. There are important exceptions, however, since Communists

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still retain control or strong influence in a number of important unions including the Peruvian Federation of Chauffeurs, the Peruvian Federation of Typographical Workers, the Lima Union of Typographical Workers, the Lima Union of Construction Workers, the Lima Federation of Streetcar Workers and the Stevedores Union of Callao

Communists continue as the dominant force in the southern provinces of Arequipa, Cuzco and Puno, causing considerable labor unrest and embarrassment to the government.

Many leaders appear to be dissident Communists rather than orthodox PCP members. These labor leaders are particularly influential among bus and taxi drivers, typographical, dock, and construction workers.

During General Odría's administration, the Communists, although their Party was illegal, were allowed to assume important positions in labor and educational circles as long as they were cooperative with the government. Odría expelled the Apristas from these organizations and the Communists took advantage of the resultant vacancies. They were willing to cooperate with the administration to some extent in order to gain this foothold. Although the Prado government has largely abandoned Odría's policy of encouraging Communism in organized labor to stem the growth of Aprismo, some individual government officials have reportedly continued this practice.

c. In case of Revolution

Communists do not have the capability of seizing the government by revolutionary means. They could carry out sabotage acts on a small scale, particularly against

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the railroads. Their capability for prolonged guerrilla action is negligible. Their penetration of the armed forces is insignificant and they have neither the arms, training nor manpower to carry out any independent armed struggle.

Communists are a threat to the stability of the government as evidenced by their activity among labor which has contributed significantly to unrest in various areas.

d. Liaison

The PCP's international Communist connections apparently have been expanding.

The Party appears to maintain contact with Communists in Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador and Mexico.

While only seven Peruvians traveled to the bloc in 1956, about 27 did so in 1957. They consisted of the following:

- 5 - IV WFTU Congress (Leipzig)
- 18 - VI World Youth Festival (Moscow)
- 2 - World Peace Council Meeting (Ceylon)
- 1 - 40th Anniversary Celebrations (Moscow)
- 1 - University student entered Communist training course in USSR.

The Czech legation apparently was the focal point of bloc activity and was devoted mostly to propaganda activities and promoting labor agitation besides being a channel for communications and instructions. This avenue of Communist activity has been severely restricted with the closing of the legation.

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PCP leaders continue to receive correspondence and propaganda from the CP's of Mexico, Cuba, Chile, and Bolivia.

c. Leaders

There apparently is a serious split in the leadership of the PCP with one group favoring reorganization of the Party leadership while another is seeking means to unify the Party to prevent further weakening. Disagreement has existed on a number of major issues, particularly that of strikes and whether or not they should be called and supported. The dissension has been most evident in relations between the Central Committee and the Lima Departmental Committee which apparently is largely composed of younger and less experienced elements.

Organizational changes within the PCP are likely to be taken up at the forthcoming Fourth National Congress after PCP departmental committees have been organized throughout Peru.

Raul ACOSTA Salas has been reported since mid-1956 as being secretary general of the Party.

The Central Committee appears to be composed of:

Victor GALLARDO, Manuel AZABACHE, Juan P. LUNA, Pedro PARRA Valverde, David OCHOA, Posfirio MENESES, Horacio SANCHEZ Ortiz, Omar ZILBERT Salas, Hugo PESCE, Tomas ESCAJADILLO Trynt, Alvaro ZUMARAN, Jose MACEDO Mendoza, Genaro CARNERO Checa, Esteban PABLETICH, Julio del PRADO, Demetrio TELLO Chavez, Raul ACOSTA Salas, Juan MIRANDA.

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The Political Commission (7 members) appears to be composed of:

Raul ACOSTA Salas  
Feliz A. BAYONA  
Jorge del PRADO

The Control Commission (3 members) appears to be composed of:

Carlos ARBULU Miranda

The departmental committees and their principal leaders appear to be as follows:

Lima - Jorge ACOSTA Salas  
Cesar LEVANO La Rosa  
Cesar JIMENEZ Ubillus

Arequipa - Raul TORRES Fernandez  
Javier MAYORGA Goyzueta  
Juan Reynoso Diaz  
Lucila BUTRON de Salas Rodriguez  
Bernardo LINARES Fajardo  
Humberto NUNEZ Borja  
Alberto NUNEZ Borja

Cuzco - Emiliano HUAMANTICA Salinas  
Alfredo SOMOCURCIO Rodriguez

Puno - Ernesto MORE  
Eduardo BELTRAN Rivera  
Samuel FRISANCHO  
Jaime CERRUTO  
Dr. LOZA (fnu)  
Enrique CUENTAS  
Enrique URIA

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Lambayeque - Jorge GONZALES Oceda  
Jose CALLIRGOS  
Antenor CALLIRGOS

Piura - Abdon SUAREZ Farfan  
Victor Manuel MIRANDA Elias  
Leoncio German DEDIOS Zapata  
Augustin VALLEJOS Zavela

Moquegua - Alberto VALDIVIA Moron  
Enrique PINTO Sanjinez  
Emir FERNANDEZ Davila

Apurimac - Juan BARRIO Contreras  
Benigno LATORRE Palma  
Luis NOVOA Bernal  
Melchor TORREBLANCA Velasco  
Cesar LAYSECA Valenza  
Francisco LUNA Cordero

Ancash - Marcelo SANCHEZ Espinoza  
Julio SANCHEZ Sanchez  
Rufino MENDEZ Ramos  
Amador CAMONES Lopez  
Cesar NORABUENA Norabuena  
Yufre SANCHEZ Barreto

Huancayo - Jorge DIEGUEZ  
GARCIA Tordoya (fnu)  
Mario CACERES  
Jacob HURWITZ  
NUNEZ Granadino (fnu)

f. Dissident Groups

Dissident Communists, the majority of whom are concentrated in Lima, Arequipa and other large cities

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have little strength, and do not have as much influence as the orthodox Party in any area of the country. There are few dissident Communists among Indians and peasants. The small group of dissidents fight among themselves; are disillusioned for having lost important positions in the Party, and have become pro-government in order to obtain positions of respectability. However, in cases of labor conflicts and in elections for labor union offices, dissident Communists and PCP members have cooperated and coordinated their activities in order to maintain Communist control and influence in the labor movement. Dissidents may be divided into three groups:

- 1) Expelled PCP members who are pro-government and who control the Peruvian Federation of Chauffeurs. Leaders are Juan P. LUNA Salazar and Pedro PARRA Valverde.
- 2) Trotskyists, led by Ismael FRIAS Torrico (former APRA member), Felix ZEVALLOS Quesada and Leoncio BUENO Barrantes, who were expelled from the PCP.
- 3) Former leftist APRA members, who have joined other political parties. One important leader of this group is Amancio DONAYRE Zamora.

**g. Publications**

Unidad - Official newspaper of the PCP. Founded in 1956. Appeared sporadically. Discontinued because of financial difficulties.

El Grafico - Pre-Communist labor newspaper in southern Peru. Published sporadically. Estimated circulation: 800 - 1,000.

Futuro - Communist newspaper in Cuzco. Published only several times a year. Estimated circulation: 500.

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Tierra - Party newspaper published sporadically in Huanuco and circulating in southern Peru. Circulation unknown.

El Trabajador - Mimeographed newspaper of a faction at variance with PCP Central Committee and supported principally by workers in the Construction Workers Union of Lima. Published sporadically. Circulation unknown.

Warakazo - Pro-Communist weekly tabloid published by Radio Puno in the Andean region of southern Peru. Circulation: 1,000.

El Militante - Mimeographed bulletin published monthly by the Lima Departmental Committee.

1958 - Pro-Communist weekly magazine patterned after Time which takes its name from the year in which it is published. Published from 1947 to 1953 and reinaugurated in 1957. Circulation: 6,000. Genaro CARNERO Chaca, director.

#### h. Radio

Radio is an important medium for Communist propaganda in southern Peru, but plays an insignificant role in other parts of the country. Two key radio stations in southern Peru, Radio Tahuantinsuyo (Cusco) and Radio Puno (Puno), broadcast pro-Communist programs. Radio Puno is controlled by the group of far leftists and Communists who publish the tabloid Warakazo.

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**1. Front Groups**

**Pro-Peruvian Book (PLP):** dedicated to the promotion of pro-Communist publications. Most active front in 1957. Principal activity was the Third Book Festival and Sales Campaign in 1957.

**Peruvian-Soviet Cultural Institute (ICPS):** founded in 1945; went out of existence during Odria regime (1948-1956); revived in 1957. Purpose is to improve cultural relations between Peru and USSR.

**Committee Against Nuclear Weapons (CCAN):** founded probably in 1956. Comprised largely of university students. Seeks to influence others through personal contact.

**Peruvian Movement of Peace Partisans (MPPP):** Peruvian national affiliate of the international Communist peace movement. Founded in 1951.

**May First Intellectual Group (GIPM):** small literary organization founded prior to 1957.

**Committee for Algerian Liberation (CFLA):** Founded probably in 1956. Main purpose is to propagandize in favor of Arab nationalism, with particular emphasis on the Algerian struggle for independence.

**Peruvian Committee of Friends of Algeria (CPAA).**

**Pro-Freedom of Albizu Campos:** group dedicated to propagandizing in favor of Puerto Rican nationalism.

**San Marcos Cultural Extension Institute (IECSM):** focal point of Communist activity in the University of San Marcos.

Social Progressive Youth (JSP).

Social Progressive Movement (MSP).

Peruvian Intellectual Group (GIP).

j. Communist-penetrated Organizations

Federation of Peruvian Journalists (FPP).

Trade Union Central of Private Employees (CSEP).

Confederation of Peruvian Workers (CTP) - Communists  
are in small minority.

Federation of Mine and Metallurgical Workers of the  
Central Region (FRTMMC)

Institute of Contemporary Art (IAC)

Popular Action Party (AP)

Peruvian Revolutionary Nationalist Party (PRNP)

Peruvian Revolutionary Front (FRP)

Leftist Social Action (ASI)

k. Communist-controlled Organizations

Departmental Federation of Workers of Arequipa (FDTA).

Departmental Federation of Workers of Cuzco (FDTC).

Federation of Peasants and Indian Serfs (CCYP).

Stevedores' Union of Callao (SECMC)

Federation of Peruvian Chauffeurs (FCP)

National Association of Artists and Writers (ANEA)

Progressive Union of Women (UPM)

Peruvian Federation of Typographical Workers (FCP)

Construction Workers Union of Lima (STCCLB)

Artisans' Society (SA)

Reformist University Movement (MUR)

1. Communist auxiliary Organizations

Peruvian Communist Youth (JCP)

Peruvian Feminine Action (AFP)

6. Soviet Controlled Organizations

None apparently.

7. Soviet Installations

a. Embassy or Legation

None.

b. Soviet Trade Mission

No information available.

c. Soviet Trade Activities

No trade agreements. Trade with bloc conducted on ad hoc basis. In 1956 trade amounted to about \$589,000 and was almost entirely confined to imports by Peru. In 1957 a sharp rise occurred with trade amounting to \$694,000 during the first six months - again consisting almost all of imports from the bloc. This, however, constituted still only 0.3% of the total trade of the country.

d. Soviet Propaganda

Bulk shipments of the Soviet magazine, Tiempos Nuevos (New Times), from Uruguay, and of the Soviet Embassy publications, Novedades de la Union Sovietica (Soviet Union News), from Argentina, have been intercepted by the authorities in Lima.

Commercial showings of Soviet films continue to take place. These have recently included "Othello", "Immortal Garrison", "The Mexican", "The Golden Falcon", "Partisan Fighter" and "Alexander Nevsky".

8. Satellite Activities and Installations (including Red China)

a. Legations or Embassies

The only Sino-Soviet Bloc diplomatic mission, the Czech Legation, was ordered out of the country on 4 October 1957. The Peruvian Government charged that the Czech Charge d' Affaires, in arranging through the PCP for a trip of five Peruvian Communist labor leaders to attend the IV WFTU Congress in Leipzig, had intervened in Peru's internal affairs. The Peruvian Government simultaneously severed diplomatic relations.

In 1957 one Czech delegate attended a medical students congress in Lima. Five Czech foreign trade representatives visited the country. Two international Communist front delegates traveled to Peru - the editor of World Student News and a Czech Communist leader posing as a GLASEXPORI representative. The president of the TUI of Public and Allied Employees was expelled on entering the country.

b. Trade

In 1956 and 1957 Czech trade constituted by far the bulk of Peru's overall trade with the bloc. (See 8 a. above). A number of satellite foreign trade representatives, particularly Czechoslovakian, have visited or transited Peru but very little is known about their activities.

c. Yugoslav activities

No information available

d. Hungarian activities

No information available

e. Polish, Rumanian, Finland and Bulgarian Trade Matters

No information available

f. Red China

Communist Chinese publications have appeared on sale in the Arequipa - Tacna area as well as in the Chinese section of Lima.

g. Red China Trade Mission

No information available

h. East Germany

No information available

9. Foreign Colonies in Peru

No information available

10. Peruvian Diplomatic Relations with Soviet Union

None.

11. Groups opposing Communist Party

a. Government

The Prado regime, while quite direct in its denunciation of International Communism, to date has failed to take positive steps to combat Communist activities. It has denounced the Communists; blamed them for specific acts of labor unrest, agitation and violence, and has stated clearly that it regards them as illegal. The anti-Communist legislation "Law for the Defense of Democracy", which the government appeared to be eager to push through Congress has bogged down. It now seems apparent that Article 53 of the Constitution under which the PCP is held illegal will not soon be repealed.

The government, nevertheless, is believed to be genuinely concerned over Communism. Its indecisiveness, despite this concern, may be due to a number of factors including 1) Prado's keen desire to be known as the President who



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brought democracy to Peru and his consequent reluctance to take any action which would bring charges of repression down on him; 2) Fear of many non-Communists that anti-Communist legislation would be used as a pretext to act against non-Communist enemies of the regime; 3) Desire by some non-Communists not to weaken Communism since they regard it as a useful device by which to weaken the Apristas; 4) Declarations against anti-Communist legislation by numerous national organizations, causing the government to question the political expediency of going ahead with it; 5) the pressure of economic and political problems facing the government has mounted to such a degree that the President is not willing voluntarily to provoke another high-tension fight.

b. Church

The defeat of Communism remains one of the principal interests of the Catholic Church in Peru. So far, however, the Church hierarchy has not inaugurated any formal movement to combat Communism but their long-range plans include recognition of the problem and consideration of steps to fight it.

c. Labor Unions

The labor scene in Peru is dominated by the traditional struggle between Communists and Apristas. The restoration of democratic liberties, under the Prado administration, which has facilitated Communist activities, has also provided greater freedom for operations to the Communists' principal contender for the loyalty of the masses, namely, the leftist-nationalist Aprista movement. The Aprista party (APRA) was legalized on 28 July 1956 and its adherents have been receiving increasing government support in their fight <sup>against</sup> Communist and pro-Communist elements for labor leadership.

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The Apristas have scored net gains in labor at Communist expense and have put Communists on the defensive. Apristas continue in control of the only important national labor federation, the Peruvian Confederation of Workers (CTP) and defeated the Communists on a general strike vote in February 1957. It is likely that the Apristas can muster a majority on almost any issue they may wish to push.

Communist attempts to gain control of plantation worker organizations in northern Peru, where the Apristas continue in solid control, have been a complete failure.

Communist leader Juan Crespo has been ousted from the Lima Taxi Drivers Union by the Apristas, as were the Communist leaders who had controlled the Lima Association of Hospital Workers. Aprista dominance was reaffirmed at the elections of the Federation of Bank Employees, the Lima Union of Bus Drivers, and the Federation of Textile Workers.

Communist preponderance in the Central Highlands was seriously challenged by Aprista labor leaders and the same was true in the South. Thirteen important unions in Arequipa have withdrawn from the Communist-controlled Departmental Federation and have formed a Federation of Free Unions. An Aprista group ousted the Communist leaders of the Cuzco Taxi Drivers Union in March.

The ORIT-sponsored (and Aprista-influenced) labor school in Lima, opened in April 1957, turned out its first group of non-Communist labor leaders on 15 October 1957. (For Communist strength in labor see 5 b. above)

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d. University Groups

As in labor, Communist activities in the field of education have been on the defensive, fighting a rear-guard action against growing Aprista influence.

An Aprista replaced the Communist president of the National Association of Secondary School Teachers in 1957 and Aprista control has been maintained in the National Association of Primary School Teachers. Aprista influence has increased in the National Association of Vocational Education Teachers and the National Association of Commercial Teachers.

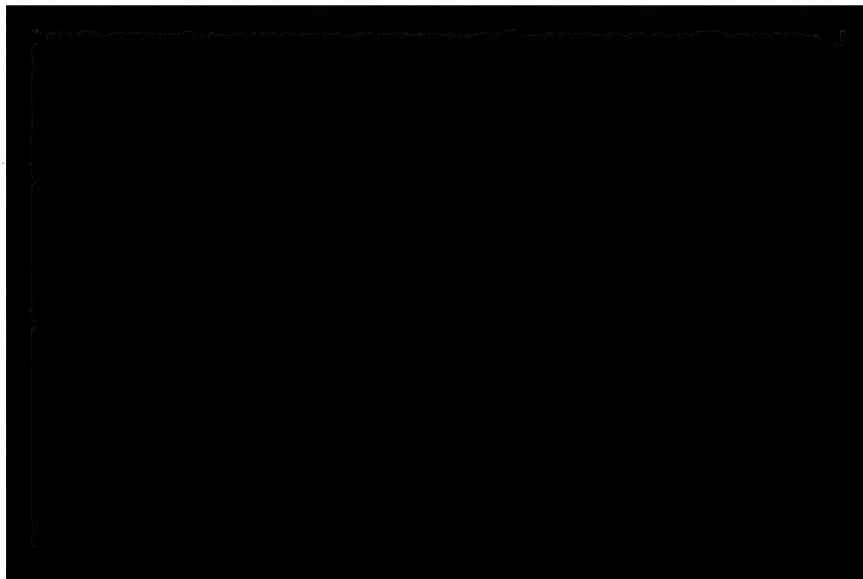
Aprista gains were scored in the elections of the University Students Federation of Arequipa in May 1957 (positions of president and vice president), and in the elections of the Trujillo Students Federation in October 1957 (eight of nine officer positions). Sergio Quevedo's temporary assumption of the rectorship of the University of Cuzco has enhanced Aprista prestige in an institution where Communists have been active.

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1. Population
2. President
3. Dominant Political Party
4. Nature of Government
  - a. National Elections
5. Communist Party
  - Status
  - Strength
  - Effectiveness
  - a. Communists in government (officials)
  - b. Strength in Labor
  - c. In case of Revolution
  - d. Liaison
  - e. Leaders
  - f. Dissident Groups
  - g. Publications
  - h. Radio
  - i. Front Groups
  - j. Communist-penetrated Organizations
6. Soviet Controlled Organizations
7. Soviet Installations
  - a. Embassy or Legation (size etc.)
  - b. Soviet Trade Mission
  - c. Soviet Trade Activities
  - d. Soviet Propaganda
8. Satellite activities and installations (including Red China)
  - a. Legations or Embassies
  - b. Trade
  - c. Yugoslav activities
  - d. Hungarian activities
  - e. Polish, Rumanian, Finland and Bulgarian Trade Matters
  - f. Red China
  - g. Red China Trade Mission
  - h. East Germany
9. Foreign Colonies in Peru
10. Peruvian Diplomatic Relations with Soviet Union
11. Groups opposing Communist Party
  - a. Government, church, Labor Unions, University Groups
12. 
13. 
14. 

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